515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed adminjstered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

524 534 Bull-roarer.- Bull-roarer (kú·lišt, lit., instrument for playing, i.e., toy) made from stalk of Spanish bayonet, Yucca whipplei Torr., foothill, desert floral areas. Stalk dried, split in half, section 8-10 in. cut off, attached at center (sic) to 4-ft. length of native twine; stick handle lacking. Boys' toy (SM).

TOBACCO

137 249 Two species of tobacco (šo'ogonht), Nicotiana bigelovii Wats. and N. attenuata Torr., grow wild on floors of Kern and South Fork valleys and on slopes of lower foothills, at elevation from 2500-2800 ft. Of 2 species, N. bigelovii commoner than smaller-leaved N. attenuata, but native term is same for both and 2 species grow side by side, sometimes less than 1 ft. apart. At various points in South Fork valley not yet under cultivation wild tobacco plants are concentrated in 1- or 2-acre patches or fields (šo'ogonhtiŋ ugan), sparsely interspersed with low clumps of brush and turkey mullein; from such fields (pl. 3) tobacco was and still is (1933) being gathered for use by Tübutulabal women.

249 Tending and preparation.- Tobacco patches never burned over in fall; although ES drew my attention to half-burned clump of brush situated in patch she and FP were "working" in 1932, saying tobacco seemed to grow better where ground had been burned over, she and SM both said tobacco patches were never fired in order to produce better stands of plants next year. "The rain is what makes the plants grow" (SM).

In spring, about June 1, when plants 18-24 in. high, and beginning to blossom, women working singly or in groups of 2-3 began tending wild tobacco. This first tending consisted in snipping off, with thumb and index finger of right hand, side shoots and occasionally tips of plants. Hardy plants, mainly of bigelovii species, which did not have too many small shoots clustering around base of main stalk, selected for attention; after woman had pruned plant she would sometimes, but not always, wrench off some of large leaves which grow flat on ground around base of plant, and occasionally she would uproot weed growing close by plant. Selection of plants to tend made more or less at random from among numerous healthy specimens surrounding women workers; according to MM it was owing to this that later, several pruned plants were overlooked at final harvesting of crop. At first pruning of their 1932 crop ES and FP worked from 6 a.m. to around 10 a.m.; all trips to tobacco patch made early in morning, to take advantage of comparative coolness for, although pruning itself not difficult, it necessitates almost constant stooping over plants in full glare of hot midsummer sun. Also sun makes tobacco "strong" and sticky

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575),
[177] fragment of tule matting with braided edge (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi·mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

T
524 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who
525 held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

T
Y
524 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at
525 Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

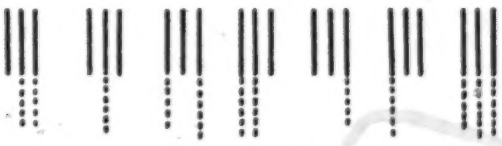

Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

T
524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored
T red on one side thrown; no songs.

526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buckskin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

526 (hali·wišt) made from willow, 6 ft. long, pointed on one end. Two lines of willow brush piled up
[525] about 20 ft. apart; 2 players, men and onlookers placed bets with third man before game commenced. Women never played; "it was too hard a game for women" (SM). One player started hoop rolling toward opposite brush fence, then both players shot at hoop with poles; if one man slid pole through rolling hoop he won and new game started immediately; if hoop came to rest with pole touching top or side of it, this counted a point for owner of pole; 6 points made game. Very popular game, played "every day" (SM).

● 524 Shooting game (po·ʂil) played with small marks (po'ozišt) made of pieces of tule well wrapped in bit of buckskin described by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

526 Men's shinny game (pa·wa·šil) played with
525 single oak shinny stick (pa·wa·šišt), curved at lower end, and oak ball (homoyišt); goal posts (mu·giništ) for each end of field consisted of 2 posts set 10 ft. apart, with nothing strung between them; distance between 2 sets of posts about 600 ft. Each team composed of 5 men; no umpire; 2 men on each team guarded their team's goal posts; when one team succeeded in getting ball through opposing team's goal, game ended; stakes collected and divided between members of winning team; in reply to my question whether bets wagered on this game, ES replied with fine scorn, "Certainly they bet; they wouldn't run on a hot day for nothing!" Shinny contests often intertribal affairs, held between Kawaiisu-Tejon Yokuts at Tejon; Kawaiisu-Chumash in Kawaiisu territory; Tübatulabal-Chumash at Tejon, etc.

524 No information obtainable on racket game, noted for Yokuts (Culin, 595). Descriptions of several games played by boys 35 yrs. ago given by MM (Voegelin, 1935 b, 225).

Toys.- Acorn tops (pu·lu·'iništ), made from maul-oak acorns, used by boys; same as top figured by Kroeber (Handbook, 449, fig. 41a), except that Tübatulabal top was spun on pointed stick which protruded from bottom as well as top of acorn; upper end of stick twirled between hands and then pushed forward to spin on ground (SM).

Dolls and animal figurines made from red clay by children (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227); boys played with small bows and arrows, bull-roarer (see section on Musical Instruments).

538 Telling of myths.- Occasions for telling myths (tɪ'ɪbinuga'adwal) in winter often of social nature; persons gathered after supper at house of old man or woman who had reputation for narrating stories well; when it grew dark old person, who owned certain myths, would tell these until about midnight; after this his auditors slept until morning star appeared in sky, when they were roused by old people and told to go outside and jump in pool of icy water once (SM); 3 times (MM);

538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a·wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

159 And all the people were married there; šumukat
585 married wïsok, and my younger sister was married,
too.

159 Pete and I went home to u·u·pu·lap after we
591 were married; my people were living up there,
making gardens. It was nice up there by the river.
My grandmother (mother's mother) didn't like Pete;
she kept scolding me for taking him again. She
didn't like him because when he got drunk he was
mean and chased around with other women. My par-
ents and sisters and my grandmother and my husband
and I were living in one big house. My sister's
husband was a good man; he bought everything for
[241] her. We all got on well together; my family had
lots of gardens there, with lots of onions. We
[432] sold some onions and beans, long black and white
[476] beans. The men and women both worked in the gar-
dens; they helped each other; they worked early
in the morning. Pete and I didn't have any garden
of our own; we were just staying there with my
parents. That was the way Indians used to do; the
man lived with his wife's family a long time.

159 My sister died at u·u·pu·lap, so we left the
768 house where we had all been living; we moved away
from there. Only my half brother stayed up there;
he had alfalfa growing there; he stayed there un-
til a white man came and told him to get out of
there. All the rest of us moved.

159 Pete and I moved down to yïtiyamup. We stayed
842 there all winter; we built a wattle house with a
845 tule roof down there. My husband had wanted me
to have a baby for a long time, and my mother-in-
law gave me some medicine; I didn't know what it
was for, and I drank it; after that I didn't men-
struate any more, and then I had Legora. When she
was born I got sick and pretty nearly died; I was
in labor all night and all day; my mother took
care of me. My husband's stepfather had power; I
was lying around, unconscious, weak; the baby
didn't want to come out. Pete's stepfather touched
me all over with his amulet. My father had power,
[826] too, but he couldn't do anything for me; I don't
know why. I was old, about 25 yrs. old; my bones
were getting hard, I think. When my son Pete was
born it was easier, but Legora very nearly killed
[262] me. Each time I had a baby I didn't eat meat or
grease for one month afterward; just flour and
beans. After my first baby was born my mother
made a fire in the ground with hot rocks on top,
[163] for me to lie on. The rocks stayed hot all night;
it was a good bed. I only had the 2 children.

159 When we were up there at yïtiyamup my sister-
222 in-law and I used to get chia seeds on that lit-
524 tle hill near Steban's house. My 2 children would
249 stay home and go visiting over at another woman's
house; they played marbles and made rag dolls to
play with. We used to cut barley down here in the
valley, too; we didn't make any tobacco; my mother
made that, though. Little Bill Chico's second wife
made it, too, and we used to buy it from her. One
other woman, mapali·p, used to make it, too; only
those 2 made it.

My husband used to haul water and wood for me;

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931, 1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

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152. Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next. 153. Then he is shooting that target. 154. Then they are paying him one arrow. 155. Then some are going back to their own houses without their own arrows, when losing.

539 X
159

156. Then from there again we are playing another game—red clay. 157. We are making dolls, we are building everything, coyotes and also bears, wolves, and also people; we are doing everything all the time. 158. When making that red clay into dolls, we then put that already made doll in the heat. 159. Then from there when drying, it is getting hard. 160. It lasts a long time.

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539 X
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857

161. Then from there we are playing another game again, the hide game. 162. Then we are putting one boy (to be "it"). 163. We are tying his eyes with a rag. 164. Then he is seeing nothing. 165. Then from there, having finished tying him, we are all hiding. 166. Then he is looking for us. 167. "Where are you?" he is saying. 168. "This way," we are saying. 169. Then he is coming running. 170. Then some are coming in his tracks. 171. Then he takes a jump backward. 172. Then he is grabbing one (boy). 173. Then that one does the same next.

539 X
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[251]
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[464]

174. Then we never play again. 175. Then we used to hunt deer all the time, it being summer. 176. Then, also, we are going camping. 177. From there we used to hunt deer. 178. And also from there we are going fishing in the north fork. 179. We are catching many fish, trout, and also bullheads. 180. Then we are making "jerky"; we are drying (the fish). 181. Then, also, from there again, we are going fishing the next day. 182. Then also we are again making those (fish) into "jerky." 183. And also we are again hunting deer. 184. We are hunting every day. 185. Then after staying there five days, we are coming back from there, we are coming toward our own home. 186. Then also, upon arriving, we are working again when we find those jobs (on the ranches of white men).

539 X
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[252]

187. Then also, from there again, in another summer, we are going to gather pine nuts. 188. We are all going and gathering, my mother, too (she did not go on the previous hunting and fishing trip)—we all, and also again many different people not our relatives (but) different people. 189. (There are) many people. 190. Then they fix blackened pine nuts in the evening. 191. Then we used to kill deer. 192. Then we are staying there all summer gathering pine nuts. 193. We are gathering one sack every day. 194. And also we are roasting the raw ones; we are gathering (them) when they fall down. 195. We used to gather (them) every day. 196. From there we are coming back, the pine nuts being already exhausted. 197. Then we are packing the pine nuts. 198. All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks. 199. Then when all are coming back toward their own homes, we are packing (the pine nuts). 200. It being winter, we used to eat that, blackened pine nuts, and also rabbit with acorn gravy, and also everything (else), deer, fish, everything, we used to eat. 201. (There are) many acorns; we used to gather those too. 202. It being autumn already when they are falling, we are going and gathering the acorns. 203. Then already many are falling. 204. Then we are shelling those acorns. 205. Then our mother is drying (them). 206. Then when they are drying, she is going to pound (them) in the pit mortar. 207. Then, having finished pounding that, she is leaching it in the leaching place (a hole in sand on the edge of a stream). 208. Then, when going to leach it, she is irrigating it until noon. 209. Then from there she is gathering that up. 210. Then she is stirring that in the clay pot. 211. Then she is bringing that toward the house. 212. We are eating that for some time without bread. 213. We are eating acorn gravy nearly all winter.

539 X
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214. Then from there my father made a fiesta. 215. First he called the Yokuts. 216. "I shall make a fiesta," he is saying, "and all of you come in future," he is saying, "on that day," he is saying; "then we will enter upon it together when I make (fiesta)," he is saying; "pretty soon in five days we will make fiesta," he is saying. 217. Then from there they all arrived there on the day. 218. They all entered upon it together. 219. Then the clown is saying "Pretty soon we shall gamble," he is saying, "and also the hand-game (will be played)," he is saying. 220. "Good," the people are saying. 221. Then they gambled that night. 222. For two or three nights they gambled. 223. Then the clown

[P. 516] Tubatulabal NS12

no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters (there probably was a doorway frame of some sort). The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening (late afternoon?) was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´''i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).